[P. 367, A]

776 ever, general agreement among informants that the
756 Water Baby could, if he gave his power to a person,
115 demand repayment with the lives of his protégé's close relatives or entire family.[3]

The various powers and activities of the Water
776 Babies are perhaps best described in the following
539 stories recounted by informants:

[782] [755] 1. "One time my Dad was sick. He called in two, three doctors and they said he had to give a basket to the Water Babies at Lake Išmedel. There is an island in this lake and my Dad was supposed to go out to that island and leave a basket. I was too young then but he took my brother. They went up there and my Dad just started walking out to the lake and the water never got any deeper than there (pointing to his knees). He walked right on that water. He left that basket and came back and he got well. Them Water Babies helped him walk on the water. My brother saw it happen."

[778] 2. "There is this deep pool up in the mountains. There is a kind of black sucker live there but no Indians ever caught them because that was a Water Baby place and they was Water Baby food. Womens used to sit on a platform of logs and weave baskets there [special baskets for the Water Babies, apparently, such as the one used as offering in the story above]. One time I took another fella like you [anthropologist] up there but when we got there we couldn't find nothing but sand with a little water bubbling up in the middle. He wouldn't believe me. I showed him where them womens had sat but I think he thought I was lying. I guess them Water Babies did something."

[782] 3. "There is this women called Frances. She was up at Blue Lake with her husband following him along the edge of the lake. It was kind of dark. She saw them little footprints right on top of her husband's in the sand."

4. "I'll tell you what happened to me right in this house about two years ago. I was in bed in that room there and I felt these little hands creeping under the covers. I brushed 'em away but they just come back. They tried to feel me down here [indicating his genitalia]. I yelled for my mother and she come in and said something and something went zip (waving arm violently to indicate direction) right out of that window. We looked out that way [to the south], that's toward Walker Lake. Everything was kind of hazy blue."

[756] In light of Washo views about receiving shamanistic power, it would appear that my informant was suggesting that this visitation was a Water Baby making its patronage known.

776 5. "My old uncle had been doctoring up by Genoa.
787 He had a tough one and fallen in the fire and burned
539 all his pants off and was walking wearing his coat like a skirt. He got by Wally's Hot Springs when he felt like he wanted a bath. Them Water Babies must have been working on him. He went over by the creek and started to lean over and then he passed out and fell into the water and there was a Water Baby. That Water Baby said, 'come on,' and he took him down to Water Baby country. The chief of the

[3] Kluckhohn reports that the payment for joining a coven of Navajo witches is often the life of a relative (1967, p. 131).

[P 368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a semimystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

[795] [787] [521] 539 [115] [756]

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Aŋ, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there aŋ bird's skeleton?"

[776]

773 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwui. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 [782] [182] [121] Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

[P.391, B]

741 the cloudless sky overhead.

789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers,
821 which is a source of much amusement among the Washo.
[648] Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be
778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia.
[231] Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even
[437] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance—taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

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237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor-
291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers
778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional
237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial
778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played
276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to
[756] have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

[782]

[795]

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern
795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire
778 to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P.303, A]

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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

[782]

Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[164]

[P. 373, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

[782]

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

881 [271] [262] [263] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

[124] [262] (This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] [202] The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778] The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178] In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

/ About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] [824] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[782] [431] [178] [515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

[302] The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

[574] In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P. 378; A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
[626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's
[627] the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his be-
769 longings are disposed of. There is an increasing ten-
178 dency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[9]

When the husband of one of my informants died,

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[648] [9]The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

[P.378, B] When the husband of one of my informants died,
764 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
768 house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake
178 Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their father's possessions. In deference to their mother's rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about forty put the torch to the house in which his mother and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied since their deaths. While the house burned no effort was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and summoned the fire department, but the Indians refused to tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the men sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were helping God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
[821] Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the deceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
783 not feel safe in handling food or children until this ritual had been carried out.

775 The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
[787] elude these guards, they were sometimes able to recover the spirit of a recently dead person and return it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informant once visited the land of the dead and reported that there were lots of Indians there playing games and having a good time. If murder victims were present they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the killers were segregated and were not having a good time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly used in life, or are not properly honored after death, or have not been given the things they wanted when
[768] buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[782] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and
[55] names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and, when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the difficulties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[648] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
[551] the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirlwinds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid looking at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm
[821] air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

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791 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential
224 among the Washo, and his descendants are considered
624 among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There ap-
787 pear to have been formalized prayers which were said
before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday.
● [782] In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can
just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.'[9] They have to
224 hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs dur-
178 ing the week."

[464] The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo prefer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian
624 colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim
224 that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that
178 his presence is important to other Indians. His role
[182] is that of leader or captain who superintends the order
[177] and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he
224 met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man
535 was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 Bear (298, 2558-2581).—Bear hunting appears never
[262] to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

224 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able
539 to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the eldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."[10]

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[787] [9]This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] [10]This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-298)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

[787] [535] [782]

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degrees of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

[825] [439] [262]

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi bahaba by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in [773] which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

784 224 227 841 [562] [783]

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

222 527 787 791 [211] "This prayer[11] fella [Captain Jim] lived at Double Springs all year round. He would have a dream telling him when to have a meeting. He was what you would call a religious man. He would get someone he could trust and send out a long, tanned string of hide with knots in it. For every day until the meeting there was a knot and every day the messenger untied a knot so the people would know how many days they had until the meeting.

"All the men came and hunted for four days, and the women would start gathering pine nut. They would hang up the game to let it dry.

"The prayer wouldn't eat meat during those four days but he could drink cold water, and some lady would cook him pine nut.

"Every night they would have a dance. On the fourth day everybody would bring the food they had and put it in front of the prayer, and then he would pick some man who was fair [just] and the food was divided a little before sunrise. If you have a small family you get less, if you have a big family you get more.[12]

● [782] "Then the prayer makes a prayer something like this: 'Our father I dream that we must take a bath and then paint. Even the childrens . . . [we must] wash away the bad habits so we won't get sick from the food we have in front of us!'

"Then everybody go to the river . . . no matter if there was a little ice on the water, and take a bath. If they was not near the river they bathed the kids from baskets at Double Springs. The prayer he prayed for pine nut, rabbit, and deer."

222 527 791 Suzie Dick, an ancient Washo woman who claims to have reached the century mark in 1959, recalls that Captain Jim was her mother's sister's son and that she called him brother. He was a big man in a figurative if not a literal sense. He wore eagle feathers on his head and arms. He had red trousers made out of a blanket with feathers on the sides of the legs. As she remembers him at these ceremonies: "He would scare you to death." The assembled Washo brought pine nuts, deer meat, megal [Indian tea], and much other food. Captain Jim prayed and gave a sermon, urging everyone to drink water and avoid liquor, and supervised four nights of dancing.

222 527 114 Judging from the age of these two informants, these meetings, which they claim were attended by all the Washo, were held between 1880 and 1900. Most Washo agree that these large meetings were the way "they did it in the old days." However, "the old days" appear not to be aboriginal but the late nineteenth century, when the Washo experienced a brief period of semiunity and prosperity.

[756] Rupert, the psychologically oriented shaman comments, "Hell, them northern Washo didn't come down to Double Springs very much. They got their pine nuts southeast of Reno. Captain Jim he was only a big man to them Carson Valley Washo. He didn't have nothing to say to the northern bunch."

222 527 Despite this, it seems clear that during the last part of the nineteenth century large numbers of Washo from the various areas did, in fact, gather at Double

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[11] Used in an adjectival sense. In the reference below prayer is used nominally.

[124] [12] No matter how reluctant aged Washo may have been to discuss other aspects of the past, they became eloquent about any occasion on which food was plentiful. They describe in minute detail the kinds and amount of food at a feast although they cannot remember the time, place, or those present.

[P 383, B]

222 527 [754]

ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 527 178

After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played [535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies [177] were not successful because of the introduction of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days. [80] They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

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The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed de-
● [782] stroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

222 789

There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (2621). This practice must have been occasional and [182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

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Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and

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magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred
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power. A similar notion may explain the use of the
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skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

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The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

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INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

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The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

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344 177 [665] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (patalmi mɨgi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. [782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and [685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had [431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 423 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

755 178 756 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

527 791 824 222 [787] [782] [535] One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

222 824 527 [791] [262] [211] [624] Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabáʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526 527 [515] [525] [616] The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

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Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts: the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926, 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the people bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop be good and not make people sick.

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Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others. The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

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People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed.

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house.

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two.

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position.

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver."

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr.

gólaš gepímiʔ milí·gihi.	"Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
gólaš gepímiʔ milí·gihi.	Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
melémiʔ, milí·gimelémiʔ.	Hurry out so I can see you.
šémuyi haki.	For sure that's the way.
gólaš háki milí·giʔáŋawhi.	Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you."

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[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešíši, "to drag the
535 feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
[431] the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí·ya, melehéhe? and ʔetwé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family; he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own.

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer.

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck.

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabáy?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

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It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in [551] front of the deceased's close relatives.

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Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

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Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

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"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

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"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		To	Kl	K2	Ha	To	To	Pa	Ha	At	Sa	Ty	Wa	Ki	Al
	398. Game believed immortal	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	401. Offering of game kill	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
	402. To "nature"	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	403. To spirit	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	404. With prayer	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	405. Piece of gall	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	406. Thrown in brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
	Gathering														
	*410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
292	411. Leaching in cage-lined pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
252	413. Grinding in mortar (pawaa)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
251	414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
	Miscellaneous Plants														
	*433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	434. Cactus fruit eaten (nawa or mitse)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	435. "Stems" eaten	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	436. Needles burnt off	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	437. Needles brushed off	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	438. Roasted in ashes	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	443. Pinon Nuts (tawa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	*	+	*
	*443a. Hooked pole (tsaaa) for pinon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	*445. End fire bent	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	*446. End separate piece	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[462]	447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
	448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	*	-	+
	449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	*451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	451a. Piled on ground, covered	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	453. Cooked seeds stored	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	*453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	454. By burning	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	*457. Unlined pit	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
	*458. Grass lined	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
	459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	461. Juniper-bark lined	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	*462. Nuts ground on metate (mota)	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	462a. In mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	*463. Parching	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
	*464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	*466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
[423	*467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	*467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
262]	*467b. Families wintered on pinon-nut range	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	*468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	*469. Nuts eaten as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	*470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ta	K1	K2	Ka	To	Tb	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Ag	Wd	K1	Ak
NWA 755	2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2530. Blows water from mouth	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
	2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
	2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2537. Picks up fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2538. Stands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2540. Sleight-of-hand	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	+	–	+	+
	2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	Special Powers of Shaman														
	2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	°	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2547. Dream of buzzard	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	°	°	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2549a. By tying with horsehair	·	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	2550. By sucking out snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	°	+	+	+	+	°
NWA 756 789	2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	°
	2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	°	–	–	+	°	–	–
	2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
	2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2557. Childbirth shaman: male	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
	2557a. Female	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	+	–	–	+
	2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
NWA 754	2559. Transforms self into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2560. Power of rapid travel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2561. Invulnerable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	–	+	–	+	°	+	+	°	+	–	+	+	+	+
	2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
	2563. Power from coyote	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
	2564. Power from various animals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
[N 780]	2566. Power to foretell future	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	Miscellaneous														
NWA 756 681 755	2567. Shaman may decline case	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2568. Killed for declining	–	–	°	+	–	°	–	–	–	°	–	–	–	°
	2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2570a. New doctor assists old ones	·	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	°	+	–	–	–	+
	2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2572. By free doctoring	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
	2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	·	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
NWA 776 782	2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumamiyma)	+	°	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2575. To nature	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2577. Offerings to "nature"	–	–	–	–	°	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2578. To ghost (tsaawi)	–	°	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Ki	Kt	Kn	Tn	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Alt
2579. To spirit (suwipó)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2580. To night	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2581. Offerings of: food	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
2581a. At spring dance	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
2582. Game	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
2583. Seeds	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2584. Tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2585. Shell beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2586. Offerings: at meals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2589. When hunting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Guardian Spirits														
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nonshamanistic Curing														
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2595. Blood-letting	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2596. Sweating	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
Destiny of Soul														
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or mugua)														
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
2601. Shortly before death	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
2603. Ghost audible	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
2604. Ghost feared	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumavu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
2609a. Specularite (yadupi) sprinkled to nullify	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
"Huipó" (possibly Jimsonweed)														
2613. Properties and name known	.	+	.	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	.	+	–	–
DANCES														
2614. Circle Dance (mugava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2617. At fall pinon-nut harvest	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–

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A [756 787] 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from dream of frog.

N 756 789 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great Indian "doctor" who could make it rain at will. Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago," he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him to take free some wild hay.

W [756] 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wilson's power to control weather, but no Washo shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N 754 2554. To: See note 2549.

756 683 2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did other people, yet they used power for evil instead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N 755 756 [177] 2569. K2, To, Sa: In old days shaman's fee was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made until patient is well.

A [755] 2570a. At: See note 2477.

N 776 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenomena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds, which functioned as personal powers of shaman—the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha). A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 782 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 782 765 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and other things, sprinkled on the ground while old man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't want you."

W 2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

● [782] 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

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importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[8]

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[9] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

[8] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[9] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

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some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[48] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[49] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs[50] at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[51] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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[48] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[49] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[50] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

| Element | Occurrence | | |

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Washo NT20 ●

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173-174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 205a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212-213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win: